



# University of HUDDERSFIELD

## University of Huddersfield Repository

Sakalasuriya, Maheshika, Haigh, Richard and Amaratunga, Dilanthi

Analysing the consequences of post conflict reconstruction

### Original Citation

Sakalasuriya, Maheshika, Haigh, Richard and Amaratunga, Dilanthi (2016) Analysing the consequences of post conflict reconstruction. In: Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Building Resilience. Massey University / The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand, pp. 1012-1021. ISBN 978-0-473-37268-2

This version is available at <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/30330/>

The University Repository is a digital collection of the research output of the University, available on Open Access. Copyright and Moral Rights for the items on this site are retained by the individual author and/or other copyright owners. Users may access full items free of charge; copies of full text items generally can be reproduced, displayed or performed and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided:

- The authors, title and full bibliographic details is credited in any copy;
- A hyperlink and/or URL is included for the original metadata page; and
- The content is not changed in any way.

For more information, including our policy and submission procedure, please contact the Repository Team at: [E.mailbox@hud.ac.uk](mailto:E.mailbox@hud.ac.uk).

<http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/>

# ANALYSING THE CONSEQUENCES OF POST CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION

Maheshika Sakalasuriya<sup>1</sup>, Richard Haigh<sup>2</sup>, and Dilanthi Amaratunga<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup> *University of Huddersfield*

Phone: +44-777-833.8734, email: [Maheshika.Sakalasuriya@hud.ac.uk](mailto:Maheshika.Sakalasuriya@hud.ac.uk)

## ABSTRACT

The period after conflict is characterised with large-scale destruction that necessitates investments in post conflict reconstruction (PCR). It is important that the PCR strategy take a holistic approach to rebuild the economic, social and political structures while taking measures to prevent future conflict. On the other hand, individual PCR interventions may focus on reconstruction of a particular sector with specific objectives. Nevertheless, it is important to account for the consequences of these PCR interventions as negative consequences may fuel the conflicts. This paper is an analysis of the potential consequences of PCR interventions and the significance of understanding them prior to intervention. The purpose of this paper is to introduce a conceptual framework on consequences of PCR interventions that has been developed as part of a long-term study on PCR consequences. Using the conceptual analysis method, the framework was developed to demonstrate the causal linkages between the PCR intervention and its consequences relating them to the post conflict context and long-term outcomes.

**Key words:** *Consequences, Framework, Intervention, Post-conflict, Reconstruction*

## INTRODUCTION

Conflicts are a form of disaster that affect the modern world on a daily basis. In addition to the large number of deaths and disabilities caused by it, the conflicts have a colossal impact on the economic, social and political structures through destruction of soft and hard infrastructures, natural environment, livelihoods of people and cultural heritage. The post conflict societies are thereby faced with a number of challenges including rebuilding infrastructures, ensuring livelihoods, poverty reduction, achieving economic recovery, and re-establishing the social and political institutions (Athukorala & Jayasuriya, 2013). On the other hand, post conflict societies have a high chance of reverting to conflict (Höglund & Orjuela, 2011). Therefore, it is important to address the root causes of the conflict and implement sustainable solutions, while ensuring the

safety and security of the people. A post conflict reconstruction (PCR) intervention should not only look at rebuilding the economy through infrastructures and livelihoods, but also ensure that root causes of conflict are addressed and new conflicts are not created (Jabareen, 2013). Hence, it is important to account for the consequences of a PCR intervention at the planning stage. The PCR interventions are individual projects that focus on a defined set of objectives. These should be strategically placed within the overall PCR strategy in order to achieve economic development and prevent the recurrence of conflict. The purpose of this paper is to introduce a conceptual framework on consequences of PCR relating these consequences to the post conflict context and long-term outcomes. It adopts the conceptual analysis method in order to develop the framework and bases the analysis on previous body of knowledge.

The next section introduces the rationale behind the work presented in this paper. Section three is a discussion of the methodology adopted in developing the conceptual framework. Section four presents the conceptual framework. The final section concludes the paper and offers future research recommendations.

## **JUSTIFICATION**

There is a vast body of literature on understanding the post conflict context and challenges faced during reconstruction. Accounting for the economic consequences of war and understanding the challenges of PCR form an important part of post conflict agenda (Arunatilake, Jayasuriya, & Kelegama, 2001; Athukorala & Jayasuriya, 2013; Ganegodage & Rambaldi, 2014; Pradhan, 2001). Since these societies are at risk of reverting back to conflict, PCR should incorporate conflict prevention strategies parallel to economic recovery (Collier, Hoeffler, & Söderbom, 2008; Cramer & Goodhand, 2002; Höglund & Orjuela, 2011). Intervention in a conflict context differs from that of non-conflict context (Rajasingham-Senanayake, 2005). PCR projects tend to fail if the local conditions and war dynamics are not taken into account (Brun & Lund, 2008; Earnest, 2015). The PCR literature provides several examples of failures due to lack of planning and clear agenda (Dale, 2015; Earnest, 2015). At the same time, some interventions may create negative consequences that were not previously accounted for (Unruh & Shalaby, 2012). Thus, it is important that any intervention takes in to account potential negative and positive consequences at the initial planning stage.

In previous studies, very little attention has been paid to analysing the consequences of a PCR intervention. Although consequences are discussed in isolation or as a group of related consequences, they are not comprehensively analysed relating to the larger context and long term outcomes. Also, existing frameworks in the PCR literature do not necessarily highlight the consequences of PCR intervention. Therefore,

this paper analyses the potential consequences of PCR intervention, relating them to the context and long-term outcomes.

There is a considerable amount of research on post-war recovery studies (PRS), that discusses development in the post conflict context. Peace and conflict impact assessment is a measure introduced by Bush (1998) to anticipate, monitor and evaluate the impact that interventions has on dynamics of peace and conflict. Barakat and Zyck (2009) suggest that PRS should be free from politicisation and should be strongly structured and theoretically grounded. Barakat and Chard (2002) also examines the limitations and barriers in implementing PCR projects. The studies by Mac Ginty (2010) are mainly concerned with comparing the traditional, indigenous approaches to peacebuilding with western, liberal approaches while identifying the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. However, the present research is concerned with consequences of PCR interventions, not limiting them to peace and conflict aspects. Thus, the framework introduced in this paper is different from PRS, as it discusses the consequences related to economic, environmental, social and political aspects.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study uses the conceptual analysis method in developing the conceptual framework. This method was previously used by Jabareen (2013) to develop a framework of concepts generally related to PCR, aiming at better understanding concepts related to PCR and the relationships among them. Jabareen discusses these concepts in general through a holistic approach. Since this study specifically focuses on consequences of PCR, it differs from Jabareen's framework.

## **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Context**

In addition to the large number of deaths and disabilities, conflicts cause large scale damages to infrastructure, disturbing the production process and thereby restraining development (Oji, Eme, & Nwoba, 2015; Smith, Houser, Leeson, & Ostad, 2014). Therefore, it is necessary to focus on economic recovery during the post conflict period, while maintaining political stability and general security. Negative peace, failed state, poverty, corruption and prevalence of war economies are some of the conditions that can be typically seen in post conflict societies (Cole, 2014; Cramer & Goodhand, 2002; Earnest, 2015; Jabareen, 2013; Zabyelina, 2013). The society is also in the danger of reverting back to conflicts (Collier et al., 2008). It is within this context that the PCR intervention takes place in the form of soft or/and hard infrastructure.

## **PCR intervention**

Reconstruction is defined as an innovative approach to solve development issues (Brun & Lund, 2008). Successful PCR solutions can be yielded through planned coordination among different policy interventions and stakeholders (Anand, 2005). There are mainly three types of actors involved in PCR: local government, foreign donors and NGOs. Democracy and strong state are to central post conflict development and peacebuilding (Cramer & Goodhand, 2002; Lappin, 2010). The lack of private investments in post conflict societies necessitates state intervention to provide essential infrastructure (Schwartz & Halkyard, 2006). Due to the lack of institutional capacity and high level of uncertainty of post conflict states, the foreign intervention plays a crucial role in reconstruction (Earnest, 2015). Foreign donors can contribute to conflict prevention and peace building through promoting sustainable recovery (Toh & Kasturi, 2012). NGOs can also contribute to peacebuilding through promoting local participation (Anand, 2005; Dale, 2015). Their role is instrumental in capacity building and empowering communities in the post war context (Gellman, 2010).

## **Soft and hard infrastructure**

The above mentioned actors are mainly involved in PCR interventions by way of providing soft and hard infrastructure that contributes to the restoration of people's livelihoods (Anand, 2005). While PCR strategy should take a holistic approach to integrate the economic, political and social reconstruction (Jabareen, 2013), the individual PCR interventions may address a specified set of objectives within a PCR strategy. Generally, there is a trend to focus more on hard infrastructure provision and soft interventions are postponed to later stages (Stewart, 2005). The lack of attention to soft infrastructure demonstrate the failure to understand the social, political and cultural dynamics of the post conflict context (Jones, 2014). Timely infrastructure provision is key in the PCR agenda. Although quick solutions are necessary, ad hoc interventions that lack planning may cause PCR failures (Dale, 2015).

## **Consequences**

The consequences that results from PCR intervention can be put in to four broad categories as economic, environmental, social and political consequences.

Economic development is a major focus of most infrastructure projects, which can be achieved through integration of development policies with reconstruction (Jones, 2014). Countries tend to achieve high levels of growth soon after conflict due to the inflow of foreign aid, but many fail to sustain it (Athukorala & Jayasuriya, 2013). To achieve sustainable growth, it is necessary to support development with a clear vision for infrastructure (Brown, 2005). Infrastructure reconstruction has causal linkages with reducing poverty, improving investments and creating

livelihoods (Anand, 2005; Collinson, 2003). While it improves access to markets (Dale, 2015), a potential negative impact of PCR is relocation of industrial activities from poorer areas to urban areas (Chandra & Thompson, 2000).

Certain PCR interventions cause horizontal inequity (HI) in the society, making it a significant social consequence of PCR. HI occurs when vulnerable communities further experience unequal resource allocation after the conflict (Stewart, 2005). Increased HI can result in the re-emergence of conflict or create new conflict (Anand, 2005). On the contrary, equitable delivery of infrastructure can contribute to sustainable peace (Zabyelina, 2013). At the same time, infrastructure can be used as a tool to enhance social capital and promote community participation (Handrahan, 2004; Vervisch, Titeca, Vlassenroot, & Braeckman, 2013). Community driven reconstruction often ensures the sustainability of the projects (Brown, 2005) but if the reconstruction is centrally driven it can lead to increased mistrust (Höglund & Orjuela, 2011). However, a centralised approach to PCR is necessary at the planning level in order to align reconstruction with an agenda for sustainable development (Dale, 2015). PCR can also lead to increased social tensions through land grabbing and exploitation, which can occur due to the prevalence of violence (Unruh & Shalaby, 2012). It is necessary to account for such consequences in a context of instability and insecurity, and where violence can re-emerge at any point.

One of the significant political consequences of PCR is corruption, which intensifies during the PCR period. Corruption can occur especially when government and local elites are involved in reconstruction (Höglund & Orjuela, 2011). It is common that PCR funds are controlled by local elites as development gatekeepers, which hinders community driven reconstruction (Handrahan, 2004). Sometimes conflicts are created among local elites to gain control over funds and as a result project objectives are not achieved (Kyamusugulwa & Hilhorst, 2015). Westernization is another consequence of PCR highlighted in the literature. The external interventions often impose external models of development and foreign notions of governance, which may not be compatible with local conditions (Gellman, 2010; Hamieh & Mac Ginty, 2010; Jabareen, 2013). Rather than implementing a whole new system, PCR intervention should understand the local practices and conditions prior to implementation (Richmond, 2012).

### **Long-term outcomes**

The aforementioned economic, environmental, social and political consequences have linkages to the long-term conditions that occur in post conflict societies. Conflict prevention should be a major focus of the long-term plan for reconstruction which also involves peacebuilding and long term stability (Höglund & Orjuela, 2011). Failing to achieve reconstruction

objectives may cause poverty and instability to prevail in the society, which can lead to future conflicts (Jones, 2014). On the other hand, sustainable development achieved through PCR can be used as a tool to promote peace (Brown, 2005). Soft infrastructure interventions play a crucial role in promoting peace through governance institutions (Jones, 2014). Once the soft and hard infrastructure is in place, and political stability is achieved, political reforms can be introduced to address the root causes of the conflict (Höglund & Orjuela, 2011).

### **Conceptual framework**

Figure 1 is a visual presentation of the framework described in the above conceptual analysis.

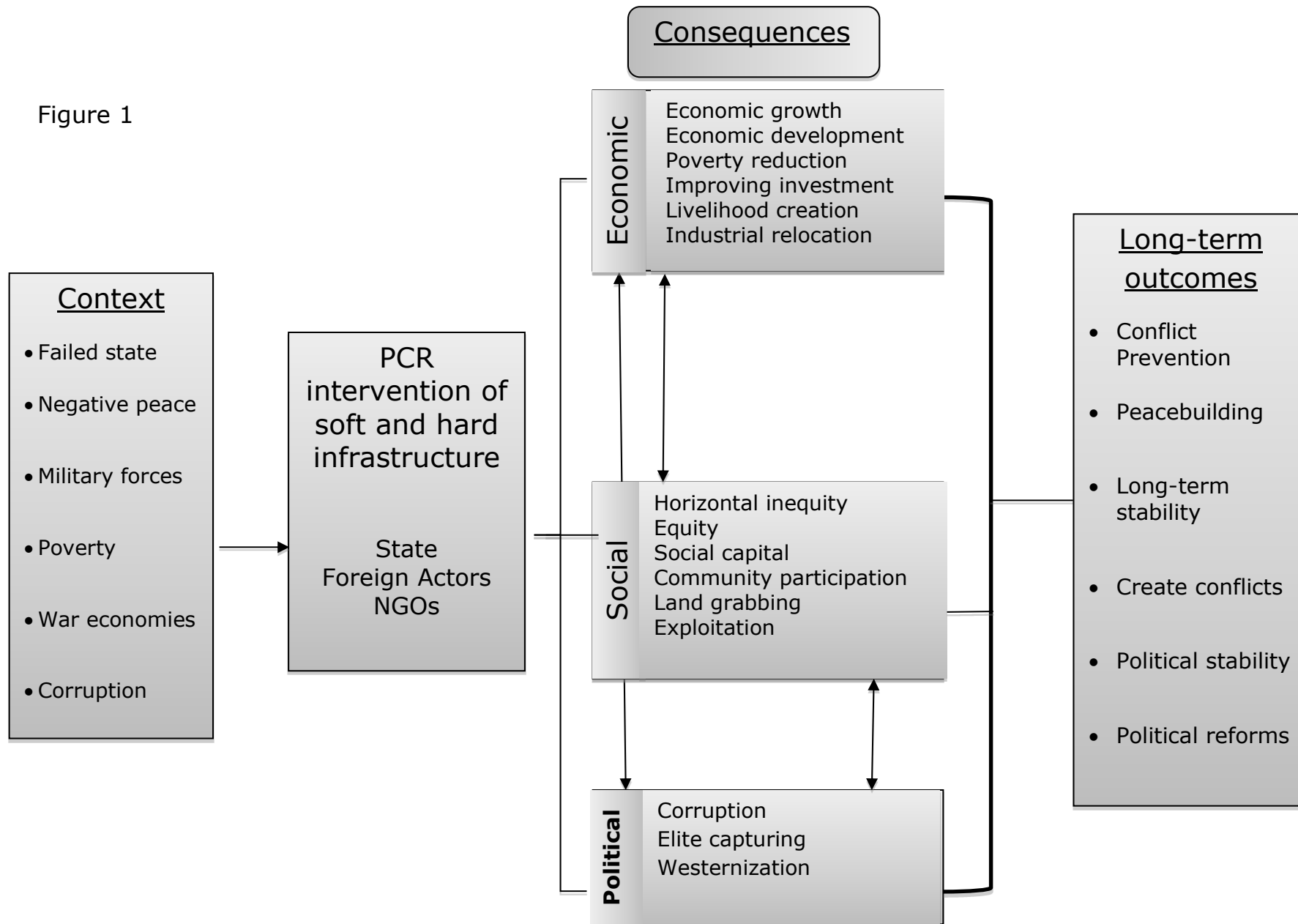
### **CONCLUSION**

Using the conceptual analysis method, a conceptual framework has been developed to address a gap in the literature concerning the analysis of PCR consequences. The conceptual framework demonstrates the linkages between PCR intervention and consequences, relating them to the post conflict context and long-term outcomes. It is important to understand the potential consequences before implementing a PCR project. Future empirical work will seek to elaborate and refine the framework, including more detailed investigation into the applicability of such a framework indifferent types of 'hard' and 'soft' PCR project.

### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

This research was supported by the Collaborative Action towards Disaster Resilience Education (CADRE) project funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use, which may be made of the information contained therein.

Figure 1





## REFERENCES

- Anand, P. (2005). *Getting infrastructure priorities right in post-conflict reconstruction*: Research Paper, UNU-WIDER, United Nations University (UNU).
- Arunatilake, N., Jayasuriya, S., & Kelegama, S. (2001). The Economic Cost of the War in Sri Lanka. *World Development*, 29(9), 1483-1500. doi: 10.1016/S0305-750X(01)00056-0
- Athukorala, P.-C., & Jayasuriya, S. (2013). Economic Policy Shifts in Sri Lanka: The Post-Conflict Development Challenge. *Asian Economic Papers*, 12(2), 1-28. doi: 10.1162/ASEP\_a\_00203
- Barakat, S., & Chard, M. (2002). Theories, rhetoric and practice: recovering the capacities of war-torn societies. *Third World Quarterly*, 23(5), 817-835.
- Barakat, S., & Zyck, S. A. (2009). The evolution of post-conflict recovery. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(6), 1069-1086.
- Brown, R. H. (2005). Reconstruction of Infrastructure in Iraq: end to a means or means to an end? *Third World Quarterly*, 26(4), 759-775. doi: 10.1080/01436590500128006
- Brun, C., & Lund, R. (2008). Making a home during crisis: Post-tsunami recovery in a context of war, Sri Lanka. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 29(3), 274-287. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9493.2008.00334.x
- Bush, K. (1998). A measure of peace: Peace and conflict impact assessment (PCIA) of development projects in conflict zones. *The Peacebuilding and Reconstruction Program Initiative*. Dostupné z: <  
[http://www.idrc.org/uploads/user-S/10533919790A\\_Measure\\_of\\_Peace.pdf](http://www.idrc.org/uploads/user-S/10533919790A_Measure_of_Peace.pdf).
- Chandra, A., & Thompson, E. (2000). Does public infrastructure affect economic activity? Evidence from the rural interstate highway system. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 30(4), 457-490. doi: 10.1016/S0166-0462(00)00040-5
- Cole, J. (2014). Conflict, Post-Conflict and Failed States: Challenges to Healthcare. *The RUSI Journal*, 159(5), 14-18. doi: 10.1080/03071847.2014.969934
- Collier, P., Hoeffler, A., & Söderbom, M. (2008). Post-Conflict Risks. *Journal of Peace Research*, 45(4), 461-478. doi: 10.1177/0022343308091356
- Collinson, S. (2003). *Power, livelihoods and conflict: case studies in political economy analysis for humanitarian action*: Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute.
- Cramer, C., & Goodhand, J. (2002). Try Again, Fail Again, Fail Better? War, the State, and the 'Post-Conflict' Challenge in Afghanistan. *Development and Change*, 33(5), 885-909. doi: 10.1111/1467-7660.t01-1-00253
- Dale, R. (2015). Divided we Stand: Cities, Social Unity and Post-War Reconstruction in Soviet Russia, 1945-1953. *Contemporary European History*, 24(4), 493-516. doi: 10.1017/S0960777315000302

- Earnest, J. (2015). Post-conflict reconstruction - a case study in Kosovo: The complexity of planning and implementing infrastructure projects. *International Journal of Emergency Services*, 4(1), 103.
- Ganegodage, K. R., & Rambaldi, A. N. (2014). Economic consequences of war: Evidence from Sri Lanka. *Journal of Asian Economics*, 30, 42-53. doi: 10.1016/j.asieco.2013.12.001
- Gellman, M. (2010). World views in peace building: a post-conflict reconstruction challenge in Cambodia. *Development in Practice*, 20(1), 85-98. doi: 10.1080/09614520903436984
- Hamieh, C. S., & Mac Ginty, R. (2010). A very political reconstruction: Governance and reconstruction in Lebanon after the 2006 war. *Disasters*, 34(1), S103-S123. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7717.2009.01101.x
- Handrahan, L. (2004). Conflict, Gender, Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. *Security Dialogue*, 35(4), 429-445. doi: 10.1177/0967010604049521
- Höglund, K., & Orjuela, C. (2011). Winning the peace: conflict prevention after a victor's peace in Sri Lanka. *Contemporary Social Science*, 6(1), 19-37. doi: 10.1080/17450144.2010.534491
- Jabareen, Y. (2013). Conceptualizing "Post-Conflict Reconstruction" and "Ongoing Conflict Reconstruction" of Failed States. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 26(2), 107-125. doi: 10.1007/s10767-012-9118-3
- Jones, B. (2014). Ensuring a political space for conflict by applying Chantal Mouffe to post-war reconstruction and development. *Progress in Development Studies*, 14(3), 249-259. doi: 10.1177/1464993414521331
- Kyamusugulwa, P. M., & Hilhorst, D. (2015). Power Holders and Social Dynamics of Participatory Development and Reconstruction: Cases from the Democratic Republic of Congo. *World Development*, 70, 249-259. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2015.02.002>
- Lappin, R. (2010). The Unique Challenges of Post-Conflict Democracy Assistance. *Peace Review*, 22(2), 178-183. doi: 10.1080/10402651003751479
- Mac Ginty, R. (2010). Hybrid peace: The interaction between top-down and bottom-up peace. *Security Dialogue*, 41(4), 391-412.
- Oji, R. O., Eme, O. I., & Nwoba, H. A. (2015). HUMAN COST OF COMMUNAL CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: A CASE OF EZILLO AND EZZA-EZILLO CONFLICTS OF EBONYI STATE, (2008-2010). *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (Oman Chapter)* U6, 4(6), 1.
- Pradhan, G. (2001). Economic cost of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 31(3), 375-384. doi: 10.1080/00472330180000221
- Rajasingham-Senanayake, D. (2005). Sri Lanka and the violence of reconstruction. *Development*, 48(3), 111-120. doi: 10.1057/palgrave.development.1100171
- Richmond, O. P. (2012). Justice and Post-conflict Violence. *International Peacekeeping*, 19(5), 655-659. doi: 10.1080/13533312.2012.722014

- Schwartz, J., & Halkyard, P. (2006). Post-conflict infrastructure: Trends in aid and investment flows.
- Smith, A. C., Houser, D., Leeson, P. T., & Ostad, R. (2014). The costs of conflict. *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 97, 61-71. doi: 10.1016/j.jebo.2013.10.005
- Stewart, F. (2005). Policies towards Horizontal Inequalities in Post-Conflict Reconstruction.
- Toh, K., & Kasturi, P. (2012). Foreign aid in post-conflict countries: The case of South Sudan. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 29(2), 201-220.
- Unruh, J., & Shalaby, M. (2012). A volatile interaction between peacebuilding priorities: road infrastructure (re)construction and land rights in Afghanistan. *Progress in Development Studies*, 12(1), 47-61. doi: 10.1177/146499341101200103
- Vervisch, T., Titeca, K., Vlassenroot, K., & Braeckman, J. (2013). Social Capital and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Burundi: The Limits of Community-based Reconstruction. *Development and Change*, 44(1), 147-174. doi: 10.1111/dech.12008
- Zabyelina, Y. G. (2013). Buying peace in Chechnya: Challenges of post-conflict reconstruction in the public sector. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 8(3), 37-49. doi: 10.1080/15423166.2013.860343